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Toil & Self

by

Myself and Another

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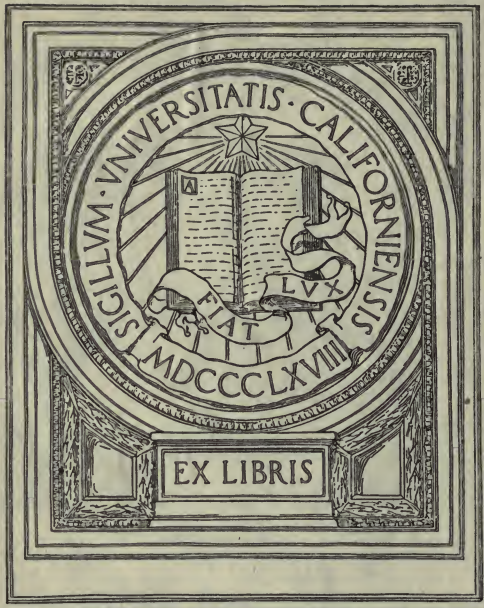

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Toil and Self

By Myself and Another

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TOIL AND SELF

LECTURE I

THE LESSONS OF FRICTION

It was in the year 2400 A. D., in a large lecture-room of Yale University, that Professor Winter, a man high-browed, broad between the eyes, with full wide jaw and chin, and that rather long nose which loves to delve into all the dark corners of history, addressed his class as follows:

It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to begin with you this course of study on the great labor question, and as a prelude let me say that what we find fundamental in every clime and age, and after all (when we analyze it carefully) God-given and necessary, is the vital law of selfishness, whereby every human being looks out for himself, first and last. The most grind-

ing capitalist, and the laziest of tramps, are in one respect identical. Each one in his way pushes the law of selfishness to its extreme. The one seeks more for his dollar paid than he ought legitimately to get; the other seeks to give less for his dollar received than he ought legitimately to give, or, perchance, he demands of the world, that it shall give him the necessaries of life, without calling on him for any labor. Altruism and philanthropy are merely products of civilization, the outgrowth of intellectual progress and of religious teaching. Without selfishness humanity could not exist. It is a primal necessity of the intricate mechanism of life that each specimen should zealously, sedulously, and persistently look out for himself. Life would be chaos and misery, were it not for this law.

The excess of selfishness is the only cause of misfortune. The true ideal is a just admixture of selfishness and altruism. Great labor and socialistic movements have swept over the world, we may say, for seven centuries, and I hope to hold your earnest attention as I touch

on the rise, climax, and recession of many of these movements, and especially those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which were actively seething. Possibly excepting religion, it has been the widest, deepest, and most far-reaching of any movement which has ever sprung from human emotion, appealed to the nobler side of civilized men, and affected for weal or woe, both the domestic affections and the physical conditions of humanity. The rise and growth of most religions has been local, when compared to the socialistic movement, and the revolutions and secessions of individual nations have been but incidents compared to this great drama. The explanation of this is found in the fact that, while creeds or languages appealed only to the followers of that creed, or those who spoke that language, the socialistic movement was broad and fundamental, and could be joined in by any man in the land, speaking any tongue, worshiping any God, or no God, pursuing any occupation, or having no occupation. Liberty was the password of the world. What strikes the

mind especially in the study of this labor movement, is its *evolutionary* rather than its *revolutionary* character. The former feature has been closely logical, constant, and progressive. The latter has been spasmodic and short-lived, and merely an incident in the march of human experience.

It is truly marvelous to see how slowly principles became crystallized and accepted, and how, through a long succession of collisions of labor and capital, certain truths were learned and codified. Each new phase seemed the direct offspring of the previous outbreak or effort, and each taught its lesson, established some new fact, or exploded some previous error. All the money that seemed wasted, and the blood that seemed spilled in vain, were after all a necessary expense that went worthily toward creating a new and better order of things, and aided somewhat in bringing increased happiness to suffering humanity.

The idea of the federation of laborers was as natural and inevitable as was that of worshipers of the same creed, or of any other

body having identical aims and objects. Practically it began (so far as history relates) with the workers in Solomon's Temple, in the society of Freemasons, but it appeared in fuller form and elaboration in the trade-guilds of the Middle Ages. These guilds, however, had few, if any collisions with employers. Labor was in demand and wants were simple, so that their character was peaceful, and, aside from being self-protective, they were chiefly educational, social and charitable. But during the early part of the nineteenth century, many specific organizations arose. Mechanical schools, with corps of well-trained teachers, filled the demands for education and were often free. Public reading-rooms, and a great variety of social and political clubs were organized, and life insurance societies (mutual, co-operative and accident) supplanted the function of the guild in that department.

Consequently the guild as such fell into desuetude, but as an outgrowth of it the labor union sprang up, which had for its *sole* purpose and object the protection, improvement,

and advancement of the labor interests. These societies were for the most part semi-secret; membership was open and avowed, but their meetings, and often their movements, were conducted with more or less secrecy.

Organization of labor as opposed to capital was the natural result of the enormous power of capitalism, produced and fostered by increasing mechanical invention. The laborer was quick to perceive that the consolidation which gave the capitalist strength would serve his own side as well. The tradition of subordination under which they and their ancestors had worked for centuries completely controlled their actions for a long period, and in all their meetings and literature it was impressed on them that the limitation of their field was co-operation for self-defense. Their platform was that they could legislate within themselves only as to what they, individually, severally or collectively, would or would not do, and as a concomitant of this they accepted the tenet that they should not in anywise dic-

tate to capitalists or corporations how they should conduct their business.

The Civil War in the United States occurring about 1860, and lasting some five years, had a strong influence on the labor question, for thousands of men serving as soldiers became imbued with the spirit of organized resistance. They had been surrounded by bloodshed and violence, and educated to fighting as the chief factor in attaining an end. Although maintenance of the principle of law and order was the object of the war, it became subordinated in their minds. Especially as an equally salient object was freedom from bondage and tyranny. When peace was declared and the army disbanded these men became for the most part quiet citizens, peacefully seeking work in all avenues of trade, and in all parts of the country, but a few carried the spirit of conflict with them, and even their simple narrations of war scenes aroused it. Thus the idea of opposing force to force gradually took root in the minds of men, and materially aided the incipiency of strikes, although it was main-

ly the rougher foreign element which first engaged in riotous acts. Within the limits of the nineteenth century, however, the wage-earners learned, through the force of prison logic, aided by army muskets, that violence and the destruction of property offended the majesty of the law as much when used to establish what seemed to them a just end as when they were caused by wantonness and crime. The leaders and thinkers soon learned also that lawlessness only injured their cause with the public and with the best men of their own class. In fact violence was rarely, if ever, the direct intention of the body of strikers. It was chiefly the act of a few, unchecked by the leaders, who were sometimes more than half willing not to check it, and then joined in by the more sober strikers who were led away by the excitement of the moment; but there is no doubt that violence would have become the favorite and general method or argument had it not been promptly met with vigorous repression.

At first these unions were infested with a

class of demagogues and so-called walking delegates, whose chief object was political advancement, or personal gain; but the men soon learned to know the characteristics of that special parasite, and speedily walked him out of their way, choosing less noisy and wiser officers. The change was brought about by altering the method of paying salaries to the leaders. At first they received a fixed sum per month, far more than they could earn by labor, and they were naturally anxious to show the public their authority and to prove their great value to the union; consequently strikes were frequently ordered.

But later they received only small salaries, and a percentage pro rata on the current wage-earnings of their order; so that their pay was high when that of the men was high, low when it was low, and stopped entirely during the strikes. While this did not end the troubles, it went a long way toward lessening their frequency. One serious weakness of all the strikes during the latter half of the nineteenth century was that the workmen were not aim-

ing toward the establishment of any definite principle. Their attacks were largely on local and temporary questions, such, for instance, as the number of working hours, the wages to be paid, and the men who should or should not be employed as superintendents. Unfortunately for them, the practical bearing of any strike looked toward establishing a rule that the management of that business should be in the hands of the employed, rather than of the employer, and as that principle was utterly subversive of the inherent rights of the capitalists, the strikers of that period made little real headway. The antagonism engendered by strikes, especially the "sympathetic strike," so-called (in which whole bodies of workmen quit work not for personal grievances, but because their fellows in the same or allied trades had struck), produced much ill-feeling. In spite of the efforts of just-minded employers, and of increasing philanthropy, to create conditions more favorable to the working classes, it was evident that employers generally would *not* be willing

to promise much permanent improvement to men who at any moment might desert their workshops if dissatisfied. Nor would they tolerate any dictation from outsiders as to their relations with their employés, for they considered that to be the rankest violation of the first principles of liberty. The workmen, on the other hand, held as their sole offensive weapon not only the power to embarrass their immediate principals, but also, by the spread of a strike, to affect the welfare of the public at large; as when, in 1894, the railroad men tied up the traffic of several cities and States, and delayed the United States mails, because, forsooth, of reduced wages among the employés of one car factory. These methods called for prompt suppression by the hand of the law, and by military force, and they aroused the indignation of the public who suffered from them. Thus the workingmen found themselves condemned, even by many who sympathized with their hardships, and through the misuse of their strongest weapon they defeated their own interests. When they stopped

to think, the clear-headed among them saw that whatever they gained in wages was in the end paid by the public as consumers, hence by their fellow workmen in considerable degree, and not by the employers. It was a case of the striker struck. Thus it was by very slow degrees that real advancement was made on either side, and that true and just tenets began to be acknowledged and respected.

One great and advantageous result arising from all the effervescence of that period was that the laboring men began to think out and formulate *principles*, and the capitalists also sought to know the true limits of the workmen's legitimate claims and of their own rights.

The result reached by the beginning of the twentieth century was that the following points were accepted by all as sound labor law: First—That the laborer has no right to interfere with the workings of any business, whether carried on by an individual or a corporation. Second—That the heads of any business can employ or discharge such men as

seem to them advisable, and can offer such wages and terms as they see fit, and that, vice versa, any labor union can accept or decline the same, and is also at perfect liberty to peaceably dissuade other men from accepting terms offered by employers. Third—Any violence to person or property on either side is a violation of the law, and a crime, and should be punished as such, promptly and fully.

The workmen were striving strenuously to establish the further principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that since he was never made a partner in the profits, there was absolutely *no reason* why he should be made to share in the losses; that since his interest in the business is nil, and the equivalent he gives is fixed, therefore his wage ought to be a fixed one, and the surplus or sinking fund of the employer should alone be affected by profits and losses. It was evident that the workman had a fixed wage in the best of times, which could go no higher, even if the business were paying 300 per cent on its capital, but he was promptly cut off 10, 20, 30, or

50 per cent the moment the manufacturer began to lose 1 per cent. Why? The workman was giving precisely the same amount of work, the same brain and muscle effort for the same number of hours per day; on what grounds should he suddenly become the partner of the manufacturer when the latter began to lose? The law appreciated the fact that he should not, when it made the workman's wage the first and the prior lien on a bankrupt's assets, or on a house built. No one ever heard of a strike because a mill was partly shut down for lack of orders. The laborer instinctively acknowledged and acquiesced in the right of any mill owner to shut down his mill when he could find no market for his goods. But often the manufacturer strove to pose as a philanthropist, and claimed that he was employing his men on half wages, because "half a loaf is better than no bread."

This was pure sophistry, for if demand was dull, and the maker continued to make his full quota of goods at half cost, he merely stacked up more provision wherewith to glut the mar-

ket, and keep prices unduly low. Let him shut down entirely, sell out his stock and start afresh, or else let him run on half time, at the full rate of wage for the hours of actual work. Workmen did not strike against the half-work, half-pay basis, because they felt that plan to be just, proper, and reasonable. They did strike on the full work and half-pay proposition, because it was unjust and illogical.

Eventually, but slowly, this idea led to the system of contracts.

LECTURE II

CONTRACTS WITH UNIONS

The principles laid down in the last lecture, considered calmly by both sides, led to the natural conclusion that capital and labor must recognize their inter-dependence, and that only by an equal protection of interests could be maintained that smooth working which is essential to the prosperity of all.

The so-called system of piece-work (whereby each laborer received pay according to the amount of work done) had long been somewhat in vogue, and was eminently satisfactory to the best and most skillful workers. Of course the idle and incompetent always preferred wages by the hour, but even piece-work pay, although more equitable, did not prevent fluctuations in rates, and consequent strikes. The old principle persisted of making the worker a partner as soon as the business was

poor, and in order to avoid, if possible, the recurrence of strikes, the contract system was devised. By this plan a formal, legal contract was entered into, by which a certain number of men collectively and individually bound themselves to perform certain duties, and the employers in like manner bound themselves to retain the men during the term of contract on the conditions and wages agreed to. The responsibility of the employers was a sufficient guarantee of the performance of their obligation, but the men, having no such responsibility, were called on to deposit 10 or 15 per cent of their wages per month as a pledge of good faith, to be forfeited in case of violation of their contract, the most important feature of which was that they should not strike.

They received interest on the amount thus held back, either through its investment in a savings bank or trust company, or directly from the employers, who used it in the business. In most cases the deduction was limited to a maximum of two months' wages, so that on the average the total deposit was reached in one

and a half to two years. In this wise the longer the men had been in service, up to the maximum, the greater was the amount which they could forfeit by strikes or any misdemeanor, so that usually only new and inexperienced hands, who had little to lose, broke their contracts by desertion. The contracts were subject to modification only at the expiration of the time limit, and in the event of bankruptcy of the firm all retained back-pay became a prior lien, and preferred claim. The forms of these contracts varied, but all were based on this general plan.

When the funds were in the hands of a trust company they were deposited in the names of a committee of the workmen and of the employers in equal number. When the money was used in the business of the firm it was subject to withdrawal on proper notice, and to transfer to some bank or trust company, under the direction of a small and equal committee of workmen and members of the firm, with the addition of one or more outside business men chosen by vote of both sides.

Employers merely paid a fixed rate of interest. In the beginning the workmen chose the greater security of the trust company, but as they received higher interest when the money was used by the employers, they preferred that plan.

In some cases the "forfeit fund," as it was called, actually entered into the business and took its profit and loss. The introduction of this idea had long been aimed at by the more ambitious and thinking men, and as its first general adoption accidentally came in an era of prosperity, it was eagerly accepted by the workmen, as promising a happy solution of all difficulties, and was agreed to by many capitalists and corporations. It was soon found, however, that this plan involved the men in legal complications, on the plea of their being special partners; and in case of bankruptcy proceedings, they found that they could not claim any prior lien as easily and surely as they could when the amount was actually wages due. The fixed interest plan therefore proved to be the more satisfactory one.

Like all reform experiments, this system was first put into practice on a small scale. The vital law of selfishness in some cases became dominated by the less vital law of policy, and in a slight degree by the dictates of philanthropy, especially among capitalists who were accustomed to deal directly with their employés. The peace and security obtained by these pioneers at once led others to adopt the scheme purely as a matter of policy. The freedom from strikes meant much to the managers of a large business, as it enabled them to enter upon contracts with the certainty of fulfilling them, and to plan their operations for six months or a year, without the disastrous effects of a sudden stoppage of work.

In many cases excellent laborers were not in a position to have any money deducted from their salary, and the labor organization began to supply the funds required as the men's guarantee, so that in a very short time the labor unions found so many advantages to be gained by taking these contracts entirely into their own hands that they became labor con-

tractors, and thus soon controlled the situation.

Dealing with a unit, instead of with a number of individuals, greatly simplified the working details, and the employers were glad to accept that method, though it contained the menace of trouble through the growth of the labor unions, both in number and in strength. The unions used it as an argument to force into their ranks the outsiders who, without money or organization, were more than ever at the mercy of these societies. In this manner the unions became employment bureaus on a large scale. A non-union laborer had small chance of getting work anywhere, and except in the smaller trades was "frozen out." The union advanced the guarantee fund as a whole, received the entire interest on it, and distributed it *pro rata* among its members, or in some instances held it for use in the establishment of co-operative stores, or for investment in houses to be rented to members at reduced rates. Successful experiments in this co-operative distribution had been tried in the

nineteenth century but became a far more important feature of labor-union work during the twentieth century. The system produced one admirable result. The list of unemployed was reduced to the minimum, for various trade-unions in all the states were in such close correspondence, that no matter where there was a demand for labor in any line, the proper men were immediately furnished. When transportation from one State to another was necessary, the union advanced the car fare, and was reimbursed directly from the employer by instalments from the men's wages. As before stated, this minimized the number of the unemployed, although it naturally could not wholly solve the problem. Naught save an equation between the labor required and the amount of labor in the market, or a surplus of work, could ever abrogate the existence of the unemployed.

All the writers on this subject have subdivided laborers into three great classes: First, those who persistently find work; second, those who are willing to work, but temporarily

cannot, either through disability, or through absence of demand for their labor; and third, the vicious and the lazy, who cannot under any pressure or influence be made to work. Under the contract system, the unions reached great power, and conducted their affairs with much wisdom. Large shops and warehouses were organized, where supplies of every kind were bought in bulk, and retailed at an advance just sufficient to cover expenses plus a small percentage. When well managed, there was frequently some profit on the capital invested, and as fast as members had paid into the union their full guarantee and an additional union fee, they were credited with an interest as shareholders, and were entitled to vote upon the disposition of the fund. As a rule, it was invested in new co-operative schemes, but occasionally it was added to the guarantee fund loaned to the capitalists. Whenever the personal skill or care or artistic quality of the workman added to the value of the product, profit-sharing was advantageous both to employer and employed, and became

widespread; but in manufactures where machinery was the main factor there was much less inducement to the employer to share profits, and where no contract existed it was done in many cases merely as a concession to avoid strikes, and applied only to a small percentage of dividend. Among thrifty workmen the sharing of profits encouraged the acquisition of land and a house, the addition of many comforts to their lives, and also better opportunities for their children, but through the overconfidence which this improvement produced, there often arose a ruinous ambition to outshine their fellows socially and otherwise. The inclination to expand their scale and style of living as fast as increased income permitted seemed well-nigh universal and was the cause of ruin to many an honest wage-earner. There was also a very natural inclination to educate their children in the lighter accomplishments, without looking to their thorough training for occupations on which they might depend for livelihood. This higher education often created in the children a false pride and a false

sense of superiority that unfitted them for what they really could do, or might have done.

The contract system worked smoothly for a long period of years, and its process of disintegration was extremely slow. In very many cases the funds in the hands of the workingmen's committees were knowingly squandered, or lost through incompetency. In fact one of the most serious troubles of the workingmen was to find men who were both honest and intelligent who would be the custodians of their interests. It came to be almost a byword that the clever men could not be trusted, and that the trustworthy were not shrewd enough. Again the great success of many of these profit-sharing ventures was one of the ultimate causes which led to the abandonment of the contract system, for, finding the profit often greater by far than the interest offered by business managers, the unions began to demand exorbitant rates of interest in the shape of profit-sharing. The careful observer saw that profit-sharing had taken on the shape of

its alleged enemy, and become capitalism in miniature.

There was one serious inherent weakness in the contract system which was appreciated by both sides, namely, the illogical idea of the *absolute equality of value in every workman of a given class.* The unions fought hard to establish this principle, but the sense of justice among both employers and employed worked strongly against them. On the other hand the highly skilled workmen were always in the minority, and were consequently outvoted by the less skilled. They stood in this respect just about where the capitalist does at the polls.

While employers accepted this theory to all outward appearance, they invariably managed to avoid its practical results, and the skilled men, under the eternal law of selfishness, looking to individual advancement rather than to the good of the entire class, were active in breaking down the practice of equal pay for each and every workman in the same branch of industry. After awhile, in every trade, labor became

more delicately graded as to the capacity of each individual, and eventually the best laborers in each separate class obtained the highest wages. But, meantime, discontent among the mechanics increased steadily. The poorer workmen being poorly paid, rebelled at losing the right to make all hands strike for higher wages in prosperous times, and on the other hand, the ambitious, progressive and skilled workmen were always restless, because they felt the dead-weight they had to overcome in the low wage scale caused by lazy, stupid or vicious co-laborers. Nor had they fully appreciated that all adjustment of profit-sharing as of wages, must be purely a matter of agreement, and that capitalists, on a falling market, would not continue paying even the same wages any more willingly than under the old regime, and that when the contract term ended, a new and lower adjustment was necessary if the purchasing power of the dollar was more. The unions, however, threw their influence in favor of the system, because it gave them more power through offering the men more in

general wages. I have pointed out that these contracts were at first for short periods of time, but in the first flush of success the limit was much lengthened, and this proved a mistake, for when new conditions arose, causing either side to seek to evade its pledges, there were found many new loopholes by which to escape.

At the same time many of the unions had acquired so much power as to be almost on an equal footing with employers in dictation of terms. Many serious questions arose regarding the violation of contracts, and strikes were again threatened on a larger scale than ever before. Meanwhile the labor leaders had learned the value and the power of combinations, and therefore had organized their men on military principles, stocked their warehouses with supplies, extended their lines in all directions, kept their men well under the control of trained leaders, and were so fully prepared to utilize their funds for fighting that there seemed to be an alarming conflict impending.

LECTURE III

A

CO-OPERATION

The twentieth century in the United States witnessed the evolution of two totally different plans. The Eastern States, broadly speaking, developed the effort to bring capital and labor together discreetly and peacefully, while the keynote of most Western effort was the coercion of capital. Eastern employers had grown restless under the contract system. They enjoyed immunity from strikes, and preferred the ease of dealing with a large body to the old-time continual friction with individuals, but they were inwardly rebellious at the idea that the profit-sharing schemes all provided for dividends out of the employers' profits, and kept the men free from responsibility in case of loss, which was a complete reversal of the earlier principle of lowering wages at the first sign of loss.

To avoid this result, therefore, and as a thoroughly logical plan, strict co-operation began to be inaugurated. The men became, according to their wage, pro rata partners, in the profits and the losses. The contract system had been for them such an advance beyond the old individual arrangement, that they felt the co-operation plan to be a step further in the same direction, and were inclined to hail its inauguration with joy.

In fact during all the early attrition of capital and labor, the idea of co-operation was the one which steadily gained ground. In the beginning of the twentieth century about one firm or corporation in five thousand had adopted this plan in one form or another, but by the year 1950 at least 15 per cent, and in some communities 40 per cent, had organized that way. Under this system earnings were cumulative, and wages slightly increased according to duration of service, but as the dividend from co-operation might be considerable, the actual wage was kept down to the lowest possible level.

In very dull times, naturally, some hands were discharged and the best ones retained. This discharge not only cut off the man's wages, but forced him to start in again, if he returned to the same or any other shop, at the foot of the ladder, while the better worker, who had been steadily employed, was obtaining the fuller reward of uninterrupted labor.

It was therefore the influence of the better workmen which supported the movement and impelled the more inefficient to improve, or to lose their opportunities. The principle generally followed was the distribution of an unequal percentage of the profits to capital, and to skilled and common labor, after deducting cost and a fixed interest on the capital invested. Wages and the salaries for management were regarded as expenses of operation. When manager and capitalist were one and the same person, he, of course, received interest and dividend on capital as well as salary and its dividend. As manager on a salary he received simply a higher percentage than the workmen, due to his superior skill.

In some instances the percentage was awarded in the precise proportion of the capital to the pay-roll, and in others, according to the relative amounts of wages and of salaries. These amounts paid to the workmen varied all the way from 1 to 15 per cent. An average distribution of the profits was about as follows; 60 per cent to the capitalists, and 40 per cent to the entire body of the employed, which was divided in proportion to the amount of salary or wages received. The methods of distribution were likewise variable, the usual rule in the United States being direct cash payment to the employés, while in Europe the more common method was to reserve the whole dividend to form a capital, accumulating compound interest for the benefit of the participants. Many houses combined the two methods, the portion reserved forming a pension for old age, only available after a certain period of service, with the principal never actually paid to the workman, though inherited by his family at his decease. The most advanced form, strictly co-

operative in effect, was the obligatory investment of the dividends in shares of the firm, whereby the workmen realized fully the difference between merely producing and thereafter selling successfully. There were comparatively few instances of these wiser methods, for naturally only intelligent workmen would accept such terms, but they often availed themselves of the privilege of investing in the stock of a prosperous firm, and thus becoming themselves capitalists, soon ceased to cry out against that class. Whatever the methods adopted, the effects of co-operation were immediate and beneficial. The strikes ceased as if by enchantment, for the workmen now became as anxious as the capitalist to preserve the peace which tended to the accumulation of his cherished dividends. He felt a personal concern in the success of the business, was keenly alive to possible improvements, needed less supervision to prevent waste and careless methods, and was jealously anxious that new employés should be competent. This increased efficiency inured to the employers'

benefit even more than to that of the men. The threatening elements in the trade-unions disappeared, and they continued to exist only for the social and practical aims of promoting co-operative stores, libraries, gymnasiums, etc. In the midst of the encouragement existing during the prosperity of most concerns having a co-operative form, the unions endeavored to form truly co-operative industries with their own capital in which none but workmen were concerned, but they failed on account of the unwillingness of the men to pay high salaries for executive ability. When, however, the system was once fairly established among merchants and capitalists, everyone joined in crying "Eureka." It seemed to be the very keystone which they had been seeking to give stability to their somewhat unstable structure. They learned that just as ownership of land means good citizenship, so the true way of obtaining the best workmanship was to render a man personally and financially interested in the business to which he gave his skill. For the first time in the history of the world the

employer had appealed to the selfish instinct of the laborer. Hitherto the laborer had had before his eyes the one fixed purpose of getting as much from his employer as possible—the two interests were diverse and opposed—now they were united. His wage was fixed, except as the business greatly prospered, and his every thought and move was making toward that end. Its success was his success. Its increased income was his increased income. The old maxim that the owner's foot on the soil was always worth an increase of twenty per cent in the crop, was applicable with double force, for every toiler was an owner. Toil aided self—was blended with it. Apparently all dual interests, as far as they could be considered opposing interests, were ended, factional spirit had died out, and for a time all went well. But there was an unattractive reverse to this medal, and it was soon apparent. Ere long there came one of those periodical trade depressions, such as recur at more or less regular intervals, and its influence was quickly felt in all branches of industry. Where now

were the bright visions of the reformers? Their idol, the proletariat, was found to be of common clay. The workmen had been glad enough to share the profits which prosperity had brought, but they ignored the fact that dearth is well-nigh the logical sequence of plenty, and that whosoever shares one should not refuse to taste of the other.

They now appreciated that, owing to bad trade and excessive competition, engendered by a long period of prosperity, there were no longer any profits wherewith to continue the previous dividends, and that the surplus, on which the manufacturer should draw in dull times, had been divided up among the workmen, and for the most part spent as soon as it was received. In short, it left no surplus on which to fall back. Capitalists urged that as the men *had* benefited by the profits, they ought willingly to share in the losses, and submit to an assessment. Since under the old system they had condemned as iniquitous any reduction of wages in bad times, on the ground that they had gained nothing by the profits of

good times, and as they had now for many years been sharing in the profits, they appeared to have no sound reasons to oppose to the capitalists' logical deduction. But the eternal law of selfishness came into play, and without reason they positively refused to admit this necessary corollary of co-operation. Prosperity had made them forget the art and habit of living on scant wages, and they loudly declared that unless the same sums as before were paid to them, they must starve. The inevitable result came. Many firms went to the wall, a disastrous panic followed and brought endless suffering among the ranks of labor. In some, but in very few cases, the men considered the matter equivalent to an old-time strike, paid their assessment, voluntarily accepted lower wages, and so bridged over the panic. Bosses and workmen had, however, learned their lessons. The former, that partners who share in the profits only make an expensive and dangerous combination, and the latter, that co-operation is and ought to be two-sided. Mean-

while the men had gained a practical insight into the trials and dangers of capital. Thereafter every invitation of the bosses to make the workmen actual partners was firmly and promptly declined.

They were unwilling again to assume the manifold risks which might leave them destitute without a moment's notice, and particularly in communities composed largely of interlacing circles, where the failure of one firm might cause the downfall of a dozen others, and where competition and all the attrition unavoidably attendant upon trade caused the scale of profits to fluctuate radically. The panic of 1972 practically killed co-operation, the old basis of bargain relation was re-established between capitalist and workmen, and the last state of the workmen was worse than the first. Bosses were still prompted by the bad motives of human nature, and inspired in the main by the eternal impulse of selfishness. The experiment had failed, which, for a century or more, in fact since its first promulgation, had been lauded as the sure panacea for

all the woes of the workingman, and the certain solution of the entire labor problem. It had failed chiefly because the self of the capitalist and the self of the toiler in each case had not been the only pair of selves between whom an equation of rights and interests had to be established. They were but one of many pairs, and while it might have been possible to unite the interests of any one pair so that they might have moved on smoothly for an indefinite period, the law of self came into action between each set of employers and men, and each other set. Every firm and corporation was looking out for itself keenly, and each one was ready still, provided it was strong enough, to squeeze the life out of its competitor. As a corporation is said to have no soul, it could not certainly be expected to possess such delicate motives as altruism, and it did not, and so once more was patient laborious Toil swallowed up by Self.

LECTURE III

B

BALLOT VICTORY

While the East had been working out the co-operative experiment, the Western laborer had been striving to work out his salvation on other lines, and had been closely watched by the general public. During all the period of contract and industrial partnership experiments at the East, the strongly partisan Western labor press had continually repeated: "Those are but makeshifts; *we* must have something broader and more radical. Our true power lies in the ballot, and controlling *that*, we can dictate better terms."

When any of their experiments failed, their arguments were thrown into varied shapes, and, Protean-like, appeared in new garb with apparent fresh strength.

The Socialist Labor party, which, under

the names of Populists, Grangers, Farmers' Alliance, the Order of Iron, the Sons of Toil, etc., had for many years been growing in numbers, sought eagerly to fuse all these elements into a unit of power. In the restless discontent which followed the collapse of any industrial concern, the workmen eagerly listened to the war-cry of "Down with capital," and followed the banner inscribed "Vote yourselves free."

These sentiments sounded well, but meant little.

Their leaders and their newspapers argued as follows: "Capital, even when it has pretended to be your friend, has always held behind its back the whip-hand, armed with the law, and you have been cowed by it many times. But that day is past, even as the strike has passed, though we should never forget that what made strikes useful was the fear they inspired. Use your ballots, and you will not only down capital by fear, but control all the machinery of the law in your own behalf."

The Populists had long striven for supreme

power in Colorado, Kansas and Texas, where, with varying fortune, they had organized more completely than in any other States.

Being more hopeful of complete success in Colorado, the Labor party established there the headquarters of its propaganda, supported numbers of radical newspapers, sent through the State its most brilliant and magnetic speakers, and perfected such an organization that the whole people were carried away by a frenzy of enthusiasm. The party won an overwhelming victory at the polls, controlling both branches of the Legislature by heavy majorities, and electing as Governor a creature of their own making. In Texas and Kansas they made great gains; the Texas Legislature had a good majority of Socialist members, but the Governor was strongly anti-Socialist, so that their hands were tied until accident opened the way to experiments which will be described later.

Great was the jubilation among wage-earners over their success, and the labor press throughout the country called the world to

witness that here at last in Colorado had come the hour and the men, and finally the sure means of proving that "government of the people, by the people, for the people", was no longer an empty phrase, but a glorious political possibility. In triumphant and undue haste the Legislature enacted sweeping measures in the interest of labor. The eight-hour day for all workmen, except on railroads, had long been legally established, but had been practically evaded by lower wages and an overtime arrangement. It was now made so stringent that evasion was impossible, and a new law fixed four hours on Saturday as a working day, and required that all extra time and night work should be paid for at three times the regular rates for day labor.

The employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age was prohibited, and also the employment of women in any occupation injurious to health. Wherever women were employed, the law stipulated that they be paid at the same rate as men for the same work, and all employers were required to pay

all their workmen of one grade the same wage up to the highest reasonable limits, which were placed so that on the average capital should not earn excessive interest.

The system of convict labor contracts was abolished, and by the establishment of a Free Labor Bureau, the State virtually pledged itself to regulate the labor market. Any stock company, firm, or individual, earning more than 15 per cent on the capital invested, was forced to pay half the surplus to the State Board of Charities. The primary function of this board was to care for the unemployed, working in conjunction with the Labor Bureau. Heavy fines were imposed on any employer who sought directly or indirectly to evade these laws.

To fulfill the tremendous obligation assumed in providing work for all comers, the State undertook extensive road-building, erection of public buildings, and irrigation works in all directions. The local authorities took entire control of street railways, electric plants of all kinds, water-works, etc., canceling the con-

tracts with private owners, and paying a nominal indemnity on the ground of public necessity. In fact, the phrase "In the name of the people" became the popular shibboleth of the day.

In many towns the most radical reformers induced the authorities to undertake to supply ice and coal at cost to consumers, and for this purpose the State was urged to assume control of the coal mines "in the name of the people". The Legislature formally made an initiative test of its powers, and condemned one mine for public needs, paying to its owners on a *State appraisal* about one-fourth its value.

From the moment of the success of the Labor party in the State, thousands of workmen from other States had poured in, and the Legislature was at once compelled to protect its own people. A heavy head tax was consequently imposed on every one moving into the State, and in registering at the labor bureaus every man was required to prove

three months' residence before he was entitled to a place on the rolls.

Cases were brought before the courts questioning the constitutionality of the head tax, and for a short time nearly everything else was lost sight of in the public excitement over this question. The dominant party stood for State rights, but the courts were not so completely in their hands as to decide in their favor, and in spite of mass meetings and incendiary agitation leading to the verge of rebellion, the law was declared unconstitutional.

The Labor Bureau, however, was clearly a State institution, and the authorities ruled that the limit of residence under which a man was entitled to apply to it for work should be at once raised to six months, and that held in check a portion of the threatened flood of immigration.

The acts of condemnation of private business property involved the State in many lawsuits, though the State constitution expressly provided that "the General Assembly shall

have power to alter, revoke, or annul any charter of incorporation, whenever in their opinion it may be injurious to the citizens of the State, in such manner, however, that no injustice shall be done to the corporation". The legality of the act was sustained, but the method was held to work great injustice to corporations, through under-appraisals by the State Committee.

A further extension of State control was attempted over public railroads and telegraphs existing in the State, even though owned outside of the State. The greater part of such lines, however, held national or other State charters, and could not be reached by Colorado laws, except in the way of restriction of local privileges.

Very strict laws were passed as to the responsibility of railroad and other companies for the lives and safety of employés, and whenever an accident occurred traceable to bad regulations the federated Labor Union of the State prosecuted the case vigorously in the courts.

Such extensive undertakings required large revenues, and the haste with which all the machinery was set in motion threatened to plunge the State into bankruptcy.

Bonded debt at a rate of interest sufficient to float it successfully was forbidden by the constitution, and was contrary also to the avowed principles of the Labor party. Fortunately for them the country was at that time unusually prosperous, the very high inheritance tax imposed yielded additional revenue (though eventually it tended by various evasions such as ante-mortem gift and other tricks of law to abolish inherited property), and there were men prominent in the party so eager for the success of its principles, that they privately raised funds for the support of the labor bureaus, and aided the State Board of Charities.

Meanwhile in Texas an unexpected change had placed the Labor party in full control of the government. By the death of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor became the head of the State, a man of vacillating opin-

ion, who had been won over by the Socialist majority during his presidency of the State Senate. Immediately the Legislature entered upon a most radical programme, not only (as in Colorado) seizing upon many sources of supply "in the name of the State", but framing an amendment to the constitution abolishing all private title to real estate, and vesting all such titles exclusively in the State.

This amendment, however, required a vote of the people, and as public notice of such proposed amendment was by the constitution made compulsory for three months before the time fixed by the Legislature for a vote to be taken, the date fell so near the day of the regular election that it was agreed to submit the amendment at that time. The impetus of the reforms set on foot was still felt, and the march of events had been so rapid that capitalists had had no chance to desert the Socialist States to any extent, without very serious loss, for they could find no purchasers for their plants or interests, and were therefore compelled in self-defense to continue.

The party threw itself into the local and the national campaign with intense energy, counting recruits by thousands in every Western State, and in smaller numbers through the East and South. The conservative and capitalist classes fought with equal energy, and the country blazed with excitement. Colorado was held up as a shining example, or an awful warning; the number of men employed at steady wages by the State was answered by pointing out the semi-paralysis of all private industry, and the impossibility of raising money for business use even on excellent collateral. This argument the Labor leaders tried to meet by advancing one of their strong claims, viz.: a State currency authorized by constitutional amendment. This radical position was condemned by many of their wiser adherents, and lost them many votes when the decisive moment came. The "commonwealth land" amendment was lost in Texas, and the Legislature with it.

In Colorado the State was held by a reduced majority, while there was elected a

large but not controlling number of Congressmen and presidential electors. There was evident weakening in the support of the party and the whole structure was tottering to its fall. The country was becoming thoroughly alarmed by the growth of the extreme Socialist ideas, and Colorado was soon carried down to its ruin. The manufacturers, utterly unable to work as cheaply as in the other States, found themselves in competition with goods ordered from outside, so that they either sold out at a sacrifice, or, where the machinery could be easily moved, took their entire plants to some adjacent State. A vain effort to remedy this evil was made by the Populist Legislature, which passed laws to the effect that the products of other States should *not* be sold within the limits of the State, but the Supreme Court of the United States declared such laws to be unconstitutional. Goods came in as before, reaction set in, and the Labor party went down. This movement, however, came too late. Every industry in the State had been crippled, and

nothing but agricultural pursuits could be followed. Many thousands thrown out of employment by the shutting down of private concerns could not be provided for by the State and were in great want. It was a full half century before the State regained her industries. The warning of this utter failure produced an immediate effect in the States where the extreme Labor party was strong, and it greatly modified their methods, in spite of the efforts to the contrary made by the hotheads among them. At the first opportunity the people deposed them from power, and all similar efforts in any other State were impossible. The lesson had been learned, and though a few of the rabid type still claimed that the movement was too local, the rank and file of the laboring men saw that if extended it would lead at once to the withdrawal of all foreign capital from this country, and the migration of domestic capital to other lands. The experiment became one more convincing argument for the vital interdependence of capital and labor and for the profound neces-

sity of altruistic good-will between them, which may be thus formulated:

Although self-advancement and selfishness must govern both, yet the true object of capital and labor is the same, namely, to work smoothly as an equation of factors. The moment either party by self-seeking disturbs the balance, friction follows.

The problem of the negro in America was also one which had caused much vexation to the community, but during the century from 1950 to 2050 it was solved almost by accident. In one of the Southern States, through party politics, and a coalition of certain whites and negroes, the latter obtained the passage of a bill permitting mixed marriages, and allowing even a small bounty for all such marriages. "The pepper and salt party", as it was called, managed to keep in power for a number of years, during which mixed marriages were the rule rather than the exception, and it was a full century before the bounty was annulled. Politicians, and even statesmen high in power, had, however, taken

their cue from the experiment, and all laws against miscegenation, as it was called, were soon abrogated. The result was that the number of pure-blooded negroes soon became immensely reduced, and after four generations the race question had died out of sight completely. The Indian retained in a certain degree his natural condition and his individuality, through separation from the white race, for several centuries, owing to the geographical isolation which the law allowed him, but by 1950 the white settlers had so hemmed in and overrun the reservations that intermarriage, against which there was no law, soon caused the entire absorption of the red race. At the end of the twentieth century no large number of Indians living together could be found, and very little pure Indian blood existed anywhere.

While the Labor party in the United States thus experienced the rise and fall of its cherished hopes, the older nations advanced slowly but more surely in the same direction. By the year 2000 the map of Europe showed but

four governments at the head of four Nations, (1) Sclaves, (2) Teutons (including what had previously been Holland, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria), (3) the Latins (including what had been known as Italy, France, Switzerland, Belgium and the Spanish Peninsula), and (4) the British Federation. The year 2000 saw the last crowned head, and in fact for nearly half a century before that date the power of the few remaining sovereigns had been limited to mere formalities.

In a general way, after the year 1850, whenever imperialism or monarchy ran against an extra heavy stumbling-block, it was thrown off the track, and immediately fell into republicanism, and this tendency after 1925 became so manifest that monarchists saw the uselessness of trying to re-establish monarchies, and the efforts to that end became less and less pronounced as time rolled on.

The uncivilized world soon after the year 1900 passed rapidly through many changes. The initial cause was the crying necessity of capital to find investment in new fields, which

resulted in the establishment of the Caucasian race in every nook and corner of the world, the consequent building of railways and the introduction of civilized manners and laws.

A result of this great exodus, chiefly of Anglo-Saxons, was the implanting of the English tongue in thousands of places from which it spread, until it became practically the universal language of commerce, and the most widely spoken language of the world.

About the year 2000 some African rivers were diverted, and in fifty years, by a slow process, the great desert of Sahara was converted into an inland ocean, which resulted in opening up the entire African continent to the world and to progress.

Even China, which was the last nation to abandon conservatism, had been whipped into line and joined the great march of progress, under European guidance and control, mostly Russian.

Strangely enough it was in some of these ancient nations that the ideas of the most advanced Idealists and Socialists looking toward

governmental interference and protection were first put in practice. The explanation of this apparent paradox was that Republicanism had led up rather to the idea of personal rights and individual autonomy, but when Absolutism began to absorb the ideas of Socialism, theories which had been slowly formulated during centuries by thinkers in free countries were adopted instantly by absolute progressive rulers, whose subjects were still blindly obedient to the power of the sovereign, and whose long habits of allegiance caused them to accept meekly laws and regulations which could have been imposed on a free people only with their own concurrence. Paternalism found few obstacles in the way of government control of productive industries, when it had for years managed telegraphs, railroads, and all municipal light, heat and water supplies.

With a government well administered these reforms worked so admirably as to turn the tide of emigration, and draw from America some of her people, until Europe and Asia

were forced to adopt restrictive measures. On the other hand, the schemes worked badly under a weak administration, and showed to the world the ever-repeated fact that systems are man-made, not men system-made.

LECTURE IV

COURT OF ARBITRATION

I have reserved for a separate lecture one of the many features of the exercise of power through the ballot by the proletariat, which was cotemporaneous with the Populist movement described in the last lecture. This was the creation of *true* Courts of Arbitration. This term has been in use for well-nigh two centuries, and Boards of Conciliation dated still further back. But every form that had been tried up to this date under whatever name rested on the voluntary submission of disputes to a board which was also a semi-volunteer body; that is, composed generally of one judge nominated by the employer, one by the employed, and a third elected by those two, or failing that, appointed by the Governor of the State. This, though frequently a

State Court of Arbitration, was in effect the same thing as a Board of Conciliation, differing only in the power that created it, and in both cases without any binding compulsory or legal force.

Such courts satisfied neither the workmen nor the employers, and after many trials were regarded as failures, to be classed with the Guilds and Unions. Though organized more perfectly and effectively year after year, these courts still had no legal power to enforce the rights of the workmen.

When the men turned to the ballot for relief, one of the prominent aims set before them was the establishment by their own votes of a Workmen's Court, whose decisions should be conclusive and binding. The power of corporations, which went on steadily increasing in every generation, had engendered a kind of despair in all but the stoutest Socialists, until the wave of frantic energy, described to you in the last lecture, lifted the multitude to a frenzy of enthusiasm which, as you have

seen, collapsed rapidly as soon as the climax had been reached. The more dramatic elements of the Populist triumph were conspicuous in Colorado, Kansas and Texas, but at the same time, and in States not entirely under Populist control, the Workmen's Courts were established. Their main features were these:

1. Three judges for each court were elected by popular vote, for a term of ten years.

2. The jury was selected from a special tale of men not directly connected with the business in dispute, but having a general knowledge of cognate trades, and of the labor question.

3. During the progress of the trial the relations of employers and employed remained in *statu quo.*

4. Trials were required to be as speedy as possible, and no motions for delay were granted for any but imperative reasons.

5. The representatives of the laboring class were to pay no costs in case of a verdict in

their favor, and bore only one-half of the costs of their trial, even if the verdict was against them; the other half being borne by the general fund, which was created by small assessments from all the unions of the country.

6. The award of the court was held to bind the parties concerned for one year absolutely. At the end of that time, if it was deemed satisfactory by both parties, it was continued, sometimes by formal contract, more frequently without any formality. But if conditions had changed, or the verdict worked unjustly, an appeal could be taken to the same court, and new evidence produced showing the effects of the last decision.

7. During this year, which was one of the nature of an enforced contract, neither side could sever the relations with the other unless for some flagrant wrong. At the close of the year, thirty days' notice was still required before an employer could discharge a man, or the workman quit his place.

8. No appeal could be taken from the de-

cisions of the court, except to the Supreme Court of the United States for errors in law.

9. Any failure to conform to the terms of the decision was punishable as contempt of court, and the penalty divided, one half being given to the opposing party, the other to the State Board of Charities.

There were added to these general principles common to all such courts, provisions as to the time at which awards should go into effect, sometimes from the date of the decision, and sometimes from the date of lodgment of the complaint, and in case the decision was against the workmen, a requirement that deductions from their wages should be limited to 5 per cent. per month until the sum due the employers should be made up.

In the Populist States it was taken for granted that decisions would always favor the workman, and the men elected were naturally partial to the labor side. But the responsibility being a grave one, and the whole system on trial, the first courts formed were remark-

ably just, even though elected by the Populist vote.

For example, in one of the first cases decided in a Western State, the question arose as to the right of the employers in a large concern having branches all over the State to curtail expenses at a time of reduced business, by discharging from each factory a number of unskilled workmen, rather than cut the wages of the higher grade men. The State Union of that trade protested, and failing in that, the case was taken to the Workmen's Court. The employers proved that they must either close up some one factory utterly, or retrench in all, and contended that they were at liberty to reduce expenses in the way they chose. The Union represented that to throw out of work in all the large towns a number of men incapable of turning to some other work, created a burden on the better workmen (who were bound through the Union to help them), or upon the public at large, whereas a carefully adjusted reduction in every grade, with-

out discharging any, would work comparatively little hardship.

They claimed that the employers chose the other method as involving less trouble to themselves. The court held with the Union side, but so carefully prescribed the details of the readjustment as to satisfy both parties. But as soon as precedents accumulated the decisions began to be questioned, and the arguments were complicated. Capitalists chafed under the surveillance that the existence of such courts exercised over them, but so long as public opinion upheld the courts they found it wiser to submit to the decrees with apparent willingness.

They realized also that the expense of these trials was far less than that of the old-fashioned strikes, in which their losses had been sometimes incalculable through the extreme difficulty of making anyone responsible for much of the loss through violence. This was equally true for the workmen, and the decisions being final and binding, were for some time accepted with far better grace on both

sides than the same conditions would have been as the result of private agreement, the inevitable being accepted always more readily than what may be changed. As in course of time the weight of precedent began to be more strongly on the side of the workmen, the capitalists used every effort to adjust disputes by mutual concessions, rather than go through a trial which was almost sure to cost them dearer than it did the Unions. In other words, they were always looking out for themselves.

There were not wanting attempts to corrupt the judges by the private bribery of rich corporations, and in Missouri one judge who was suspected of having accepted money in the interest of a wealthy firm was forced to resign his position and was hounded from the State.

An election to fill the vacancy caused such intense feeling that violence and riot seemed at hand, and the successful candidate was so arrant a Socialist that the firm, whose interests had been seriously affected by all this, removed to another State.

Elsewhere the courts, confident in their

power, abused it and bore so hard on the employers that several concerns abandoned business, or suspended operations for a time. This brought home to the workmen again their dependence on capital, and while it embittered them, they saw that there were limits which they must not overstep.

In the States where the courts were in force and strictly partisan in their rulings, capitalists would put no money into new enterprises requiring labor, and the few who remained thus found it easier to control the business. It meant more for them and less for the workmen year by year, for there was one thing the courts had no power to do, and that was to compel employers to add to their force of workmen, so long as they did not require extra labor of the men already employed. They began to elect more moderate men to the judgeships, and occasionally a minor capitalist, and ere long there crept in a better chance for the money power quietly to gain a hold, which it was not slow to do.

Finally the term of judges was generally re-

duced to six, and sometimes to four years, on the supposition that the certainty of long terms made them more likely to yield to the influence of whichever side they were inclined to favor.

At length in one State, because corruption through bribery became flagrant, in another because Socialistic influence became too strong, and in another because capital was rapidly deserting on account of the Arbitration Courts, the laws creating the courts were either repealed or greatly modified. In their amended form, as you know, they exist at the present day with legal status, but owing their power chiefly to the public demand for arbitration, and a willingness to accept their decisions as the most convenient and practical means of avoiding or settling disputes.

LECTURE V

IDEALISM

The Idealist party, said Professor Winter, surviving through all these periods of struggle and failure, always full of sympathy for suffering humanity, and enthusiastic over every scheme for elevating the world, represented the most enlightened philanthropy of each succeeding generation, and I cannot give you any better insight into their creed and code than by reading a letter written to a friend by a prominent Idealist, president of a large society, at the beginning of the year 2000. The writer lived in New York, which, at that time was what Chicago is at present, the metropolis and the seat of all great movements and reforms.

He plunges at once into the subject which lay nearest to the heart of every earnest Idealist, and says:

"The commencement of a new century naturally leads one to review the years which have preceded, and to weigh the good and evil they have brought, in order to see if we have drawn nearer to the solution of the problems which incessantly perplex the human race. For more than a century we have been striving for the establishment of our principles and theories, and some of our reforms have been tried; but with what slender success! In fact, we are forced to admit that practically we have failed. Where one evil was overcome there sprang up twenty to take its place; and whatever legislation has effected for the good of the people has been combated and undermined and undone by the folly and wickedness of the people themselves. There is no law beneficial to the masses which the inherent selfishness of the individual does not incite him to circumvent, provided any trifling advantage is thereby obtained by him; and it has not taken us all these years to learn that almost every such law *can* be circumvented. It was selfishness on

the part of the workman which caused the failure of the co-operative plan to bring about the reforms which had been looked for; and this is only one of a hundred instances where men have let their grasping spirit stand in the way of their future prosperity. The individual is never ready to make any personal sacrifice to benefit the mass. The natural conclusion reached from these facts is that the rottenness of the body social will never be overcome until the evils of human nature are rooted out; and this last is what we are now striving to attain. That it cannot be accomplished with the older generation is evident;—egotism and love of gain are traits too firmly implanted in men's natures to be eradicated when once the age of consciousness has been reached, when they learn and imitate, and when the budding forces of manhood make them more intense. What we propose to effect must be done by beginning long before mere instincts have become strengthened by example, or by the reasoning powers. We must, therefore, try the plan of education

which was so successfully carried out by the Jesuits, centuries ago. We must inoculate children with our ideas from infancy, and strive to supplant selfishness and all the lower traits by nobler ideas, such as self-sacrifice, mutual concession, sympathy, simplicity of life and contentment. Education directed to the mind alone has become a menace to society, because it produces a class full of unsatisfied ambitions and without true self-respect, therefore without respect for others.

"Theoretic idealism has obtained a stronghold and has spread so widely among people of culture, that this plan will be readily carried out in the households of the rich. For the poorer classes we have founded establishments where infants may be brought by their parents, and left until their character is deemed by the heads of the institution to be sufficiently formed to retain these first impressions through life. Our system bids fair to prove eminently satisfactory.

"People without means are glad to have the burden and expense of their children's bring-

ing up taken from them, while their authority over them is acknowledged, and our numerous training-schools are full to overflowing; several others being at present in process of erection. Large sums have been donated toward the work by Idealists of wealth, and as, so far, every reform proposed by us has been at least carried out and tested (however meager the results may have proved), I see no reason why this one, which is the greatest and most radical of all, should not be tried to the end.

"Let me acquaint you with our specific aims and methods. Our chief endeavor is the promotion of unselfishness. By this we do not mean those spasmodic bursts of heroism which have occasionally inspired men to noble actions, but a reasoning, logical, and above all, continuous sentiment, which shall prompt men to follow what should be the first great law of life: the good of the greatest number without reference to their own interests; and to regard themselves as mere spokes in the great wheel of society; all moving in perfect

accord, and tending toward one goal—perfection.

"Every device has been employed to attain this end. Our institutions are directed by men and women whose merits have been tested thoroughly. Their precepts and example are to influence their young charges. It is our purpose to allow the children intrusted to us to remain in ignorance of the egoism which until now has reigned supreme, so that no conception of aught but altruism can exist in their minds; we propose to combat by every means in our power the atavism or natural instinct, whichever you may please to name it, which sometimes introduces the hated evil into the minds even of these carefully guarded children.

"Nor is our influence exerted only for the prevention of this fault. We strive to teach such virtues as are conducive to the peace and prosperity of the body social, and the precepts of that morality and religious truth which have superseded dogma. We practice the great laws and truths of that broad and

universal faith which is adapted to the needs of this day and generation, and which, being eclectic, and taken from the precepts of Buddha, Plato, Socrates, Christ and Mahomet, contains whatever of all their teachings was logical, wise, just and great.

"Do you not think, my dear friend, that with these noble plans, and with the full approbation and assistance of the world, we should at last attain our aims? The Socialist branch will of course aid us. They appear very ardent, especially over the free education of their children. Our own party here is confident of success, and I have no doubt that it will be but a short time before men can be said to be, *not* what a thinker of the latter middle ages called them, 'insane angels', but 'angels in good faith'. Now, however, we find it very difficult to impress on them the principle that sacrifice to the general good is in reality for their own eventual benefit."

When Professor Winter had finished reading this letter, he asked one of the students to pass judgment on it.

The student paused a moment thoughtfully, and said, "Such qualities would make a noble race of men, but was not the writer rather an exception and such as the mass never was, nor could be?"

"Yes," the lecturer returned, "the world has produced such men at occasional intervals, and as a result of their lives and influence there have been long periods during which higher moral standards led to greater beneficence on the part of those in power."

These Idealists were to their day what the Reformers were to the early middle ages, or like the early Christian martyrs, who yielded up all they held most dear for their religion. These men sacrificed all temporal interests to the establishment of the principles which they held necessary to the world's good. Their religion was the love of mankind. Buddha and Christ were the first great exponents of the principle, but their efforts were directed almost exclusively to moral elevation —and it was not until the end of the nine-

teenth century that the material welfare of the poor began to be a definite objective point, and as such, the cause of the birth of many parties and societies who concocted endless devices, plans and schemes for its attainment.

The mistake of all these reforms, political and philanthropic, was the idea that any external remedy could cure the plague spots on the body social. The Idealists' plan of education went closer to the seat of disease than any other reform, but they found their purpose too often defeated by the poor material given to them. They had to recognize that to have well-born children was half the battle in character-building, but they hopefully believed that they were preparing the way for future generations to start in life endowed with better instincts.

The earliest names connected with this humanitarian movement, recognized as such, were Herbert Spencer, Tolstoi and Henry George. Many other writers followed them, but with the buoyancy of the enthusiast they

were all prone to expand on what human nature might, could, would, or should be, rather than what it actually was, is, and ever will be. It goes without saying that the gentle, considerate, right-minded and reasonable man will be a law-abiding citizen of economical habits, and some thought for the future, and it is begging the question to say that the evils of society would be cured if men were only angels. It is palpable that no prisons are needed where no criminals exist, that five poor-houses out of six could be shut up if all men were thrifty and had forethought, but the facts are that human nature is not so constituted, and the wise man takes society as it is, and human nature as it has been made, and works out the problem with those facts, rather than with imaginary and hypothetical ideas. Even nature has recourse to the cleverest possible deception to attain her ends. The most profoundly unselfish course which a man can pursue, namely, that of devoting his entire life and energies and resources to

the care of his wife and children, are wrapt up primarily in a motive of unalloyed selfishness. He is giving everything he has, and yet coupled therewith comes a certain flattery to his powers and his superior earning capacity and protective strength. Ordinarily these appeals are sufficient to make him devoted to his duties, but often they are insufficient; when we come to analyze that insufficiency closely, we find that it is only in the demands of civilization that he fails, while for all purposes that nature had in view, the allurement is ample for the fullest execution of nature's ends and purposes.

Another peculiarity with the Idealist is that experiment, or a series of experiments, never seem to convince him that an altruistic Utopia is impossible. There is always some special reason why that effort failed, and there are usually many reasons.

It was not begun right, or not continued long enough, or else the body of men with whom it was tried were not the right class,

or the managers were unfit, and so on. It is the inherent optimistic nature of the enthusiast which makes him the blind and persistent pursuer of his ideal, regardless of the logical conclusions which contradict his theories, and which are palpable to the calm observer.

LECTURE VI

ALTRURIA

At the sixth meeting of the class, Professor Winter appeared with a bundle of letters in his hand. He seemed impressed with some thought or incident half serious and half amusing, for he smiled genially on the students as he wished them good-morning. "I have here some letters which will not fail to interest you, gentlemen," he said; "for although they bear reference to an event which occurred long since, it is still true, as was declared centuries ago, that 'all the world loves a lover', whether he be a contemporary or one who lived in some former age."

These documents which I have in my hand are all that now remains of an idyl which lent a halo of romance to the efforts of the Idealists in the twenty-first century. They were written by Helen Maitland and Adrian Stuy-

vesant, and have been in the possession of Yale College for many decades.

The name of Stuyvesant will be self-explanatory to you, and it suffices to say that Adrian Stuyvesant was the heir of an enormously rich family of that name. The history of their fortune reads like a fairy tale. Its accumulation is to be traced back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the founder of the house emigrated to America. Once here, his rise was phenomenal. He traded with the Indians, and what money he thereby gained was invested so judiciously that at his death he was a millionaire. It is a curious fact connected with the fortune that it set at naught all preconceived theories. Writers on finance had affirmed that in America no fortune, no matter how colossal, could hold together through three generations, or four at the outside. It became a household phrase, but the Stuyvesant fortune not only outlasted three, but thirteen generations, and, as you know, still exists. Its possessors were, for the most part, shrewd and

intelligent men, and even had they not been, the peculiar methods of investment which were a family tradition with each heir had thus far secured them against loss, so that when, through the death of some minor collateral heirs, it became united under Adrian Stuyvesant, its proportions were already fabulous, and numbered close to a billion dollars. Adrian was, moreover, a man of wide education and much refinement; and an earnest partisan of the Idealists, with whose theories he had been imbued during his childhood by a tutor who was in ardent sympathy with the system of education which has already been described. Intermarriage with the best families had supplied their own with fresh blood and new life, and Adrian might have taken his choice of the highest-born women in the world for his wife, had he so desired. But his choice fell on a woman whose social position was inferior to his own. Helen Maitland was the daughter of the leader of the Idealists, and herself an Idealist by sympathy and by conviction. She was a woman of twenty-five

when Adrian met her, so that the event which I am about to relate to you was not the unreasoning impulse of a wayward child, but the result of mature thought and study.

Helen Maitland was above all an *earnest* woman, and her earnestness was irresistibly fervid and magnetic. She was philanthropic in the rigorous derivative sense of the word and loved mankind; nor was this love with her of the abstract quality which may be proclaimed but not tested, for it seemed to manifest itself by deeds of benevolence almost without her volition.

From the moment that Adrian and Helen met, she determined to win him from mere theoretic sympathy to the practical support of the Idealist cause, and in so doing, her stronger nature took possession of his, and moulded it to her will. In one of her letters, about this time, she wrote to him as follows:

"Has it occurred to you that the systems of national reform which have, in the course of the world's history, been suggested from time to time, and which have been sneered at

as 'Utopian' and impracticable, have been condemned without a trial? Limited reforms have been attempted, it is true, but I am obstinate enough to maintain, with the so-called 'dreamers', that no reform can be effective which does not strike at the root of the existing evils of government; and at the promoter of these evils, money. You have heard this theory broached many times, but you know that it has never been put into execution. I am going boldly to put before you, without further preamble, one of my long-cherished ideas, which you have it in your power to carry out. You are rich, and therefore all-powerful to found a city where an entirely new system of government shall exist. To do this, you must secure a grant of land, or buy it and obtain such authority from the United States as to make you wholly independent. Even this would be scarcely radical enough. I should advise you, therefore, to buy one or more islands in the Pacific Ocean, or where you can, and to found

there a nation. You will be laughed at, but you will find recruits.

"What has always seemed incomprehensible to me, is the repugnance which moderns feel for innovations. Notwithstanding the startling and partly successful ventures which have in every age been tried, people still approach an enterprise which is unhallowed by custom as though evil results were the only ones which could be expected. You will have some precedents of a mild type, but nevertheless you will find revilers.

"Think maturely before you form your plan or act on it, and remember that I earnestly urge it, and yearn passionately to see its fulfillment."

The nobility of purpose indicated by this desire made such a powerful impression on Adrian, that he soon found himself in love with Helen, and felt confident that she would readily accept him, but when he asked her to be his wife, her reply was characteristic. She said: "I love you, but I cannot marry you. I could never consent to share a fortune

which is too large to be equitable, or of use to you personally". To his expostulations she continued: "You may say that the money was accumulated by fair means, and that it is honestly yours, and so on. Very true, but you did not work for it, neither did the majority of the men who held it before you. It reached its present size simply by the investment and reinvestment of funds; or, bluntly stated, by slothful accumulation. No man has the right to own more money than he can use; for large sums act as magnets, and draw toward them other money, and thus render an even balance of prosperity impossible. If many fortunes increased as yours has, there would in the end be a centralization of wealth which would destroy even what little good there is in the social fabric. Fortunately, however, it is easier for a camel to go through the needle's eye than for a rich man's son or grandson not to be a spendthrift, and through this wise provision of economics immense fortunes, along with their owners, soon become dissipated."

Appreciating the strength of her determination, the young man did not hesitate. His love for her outweighed the temptation to keep all his wealth, the greater part of which, as she rightly said, was useless to him. He therefore declared his determination to part with it, just as Miss Maitland's father had done with his, and he held many consultations with her as to the best means of disposing of the bulk of his fortune.

Helen Maitland had for years cherished as a dream that which she now suddenly found herself able to realize. Her lover had professed himself willing to abide by her decision regarding the disposal of the fortune; and when her scheme was fully presented to him, he was deeply impressed by the grandeur of its possibilities, and at once acknowledged this admiration by legally making over to her, on their wedding day, the greater portion of his millions. The result of this act of generosity was what came to be known to the world as Altruria, which materialized several years later. The interval was spent in secur-

ing the land for the experiment, as well as in forming a constitution for the State which was to be. It must not be supposed that Adrian and his wife assumed the entire responsibility of this. On the contrary, the wisest trait of these wise young people was that they knew their limitations. The statutes of government were drawn up by a number of the most able legal Idealists of the times, just as in preceding centuries the philosopher Locke had been engaged to draw up a constitution for a State of the New World; a constitution, by the way, which was never put into execution. On her favorite point, however, Helen Stuyvesant insisted strenuously: an idea which had been suggested by one of the brightest minds of the latter middle ages, namely, that in the new republic, money should never come into use. The system by which this was achieved was a combination of certain theories, which at various times had arrested the attention of thinkers, and had been notably set forth in some books which, two centuries before, had created no small

amount of interest and speculation. They were entitled "Looking Backward" and "Equality", and purported to be a prediction of the ultimate solution of universal problems. In spite of the time that had elapsed since those books were written, and although the sanguine assertions of the authors had never in the slightest degree been realized by the natural course of events, Hèlen had never ceased to have faith in the theories. Her fondest dream had been to institute an experimental test of them, and now that the power to do this was in her hands, she lost no time in putting it into execution.

The preliminary steps were quickly dispatched. Civilization had encroached upon land to such an extent that it was difficult to find a spot not already thickly populated, but there was found an island in the Pacific Ocean whose inhabitants were comparatively few, and the purchase of the land from the government being complete, and perfect autonomy secured, it was not difficult to indemnify these persons, and make them move to

the mainland. The situation of the island, geographically considered, was remote, but in view of the marvelous contrivances for aerial transportation, as well as navigation, which existed even in that day, this consideration was a minor one. Buildings were erected, and the entire spot was subjected to elaborate sanitary and industrial improvements before the persons who were to be the exponents of the new doctrines were installed. When all was ready, the formerly commonplace spot presented an unprecedented example of human industry and skill. On the coast had been built a city whose artistic buildings were surrounded by fine gardens, and whose thoroughfares were broad and well paved. In the suburbs were many factories, but smoke, instead of spreading over the sky like a pall as heretofore, was led by underground pipes to chambers constructed to receive the soot, whence it escaped in a purified form. Everything was constructed on a utilitarian basis, but with the aesthetic side equally considered. All this being completed, the immigrants be-

gan to arrive. The selection of these immigrants is especially worthy of note. Human sagacity and penetration could go no further than in the skill which was displayed. They were without exception young persons. Most of them were children, and had been chosen with a special regard for good character and worthy parentage from among the orphan asylums in all parts of the country, and, where they had guardians or immediate relatives, an entire relinquishment of claims was secured from them. This was done with a view to isolating the young recruits from all contrary influences, and having therefore secured perfectly unbiased minds and thoroughly ductile material, the persons in charge of Altruria at once proceeded to mold these minds according to the end in view. The same principles of altruism which for a century before the Idealists had inaugurated in their system of education were brought to bear, but these were supplemented by all the practical reforms suggested by the books already referred to and others. The first and most radi-

cal of these I have already mentioned: the disappearance of the money system. The way in which this was brought about was by the centralization of all the capital of the embryo nation in its government, which then became the employer of the people under it. A detailed account of this system would take too long; suffice it to say, that perfect equality in all things was the fundamental rule. Men, women and invalids all ranked alike, as to the distribution of pay; all worked according to their ability, or not at all, if debarred by insuperable physical or mental obstacles, and each one received from the State exactly the same salary as the other. Social distinctions, too, were abolished. No difference was made between the manual laborer and the scientist. Each man or woman was forced to choose his occupation, but stringent laws made it obligatory for them to keep to the standard of the profession they had chosen, under pain of punishment and degradation in the "industrial army", as it was called.

These principles of advanced socialism, or

communism, obtained in all the relations and circumstances of the new order of things. There were common dining-rooms, common kitchen, and common servants. There were national bureaus of cooking and of house-cleaning, and every member of society was liable to be called upon to perform menial services for others, at the bidding of the government. In the "army" no one entered with a brevet grade. Each man was a simple private, until by his merits, or by the length of his service, he acquired a higher rank.

All these theories and provisions were without doubt commendable, and they were worked out with rigid exactitude. The children in process of education were so saturated with them that when they arrived at maturity they fell into the paths prescribed to them with passive obedience. Everyone worked, but it soon became apparent that in the very nature of things there could be no common similarity of workmanship or energy. Absolute equality was, therefore, only conventional, and to a certain degree inexact. The

man who worked zealously received no more than the man who shirked his work. He might be promoted sooner, but the material recompense was the same. It was a great temptation, therefore, to obey the physical impulse which restricted work, and the plan offered to those who were naturally lazy much opportunity to indulge this fault. Nevertheless, for a while the whole colony was like a huge school in which the regular routine went on like clockwork. A few worked from conscience and real love of work, the majority worked because the habit was formed, and many shirked or partly rebelled. Public opinion was expected to be the strongest check on misdemeanor of any kind, but since it was the restless spirits who broke the rules, they were inclined to enjoy or defy the criticism of the majority.

Persistent laziness was punished by isolating the recalcitrant members on a reservation, with tools, seeds, etc., where they must work or starve. This plan ultimately menaced the existence of the colony, for the isolated mem-

bers became a nucleus of revolt, and required so much surveillance that they were finally imprisoned, but the advanced philanthropy of the times considered crime atavism, and the prisons were fairly pleasant abodes, so that it was not at all repugnant to most persons to be incarcerated in them.

The careful education produced in the main a set of automatons, and where a strong individuality asserted itself, the encouragement it might meet with from one direction was promptly changed by repression from another. Malleable as was the material selected, human nature would crop out, and when a boy with inventive genius had been aided to perfect some valuable invention, receiving for it perhaps the thanks of the community, but also the envy and criticism of his mates, it would have been strange had he not thought with discontent of the gains he could have made in a different state of society in the outer world. The brighter minds were either restive or rusted, and while the schools were re-

cruited constantly, the average of intelligence diminished after a generation.

The leaven of restlessness spread not only through revolt from work, but in the recreation and social intercourse. Each individual was given entire liberty to use his leisure as he chose, and at once there grew up the natural distinction between those who chose the intellectual pleasures and those who preferred the material. No amount of precept could prevent a lack of sympathy between them, which meant social separation. More than all, the problem of regulating marriages for the good of the community produced endless trouble.

With an assured living on a fixed amount of labor, the responsibility for posterity was thrown on to the State. The docile members of the community, who married with the consent of the State, reproduced a weak type of citizen, while the stronger men and women resented the State's interference in a matter which by natural law they considered the right of the individual.

During the life of Adrian and his wife the colony flourished through the impetus of their enthusiasm and devotion; but after they had passed away, the friction between the governing and the governed members of the community increased, until the once united island was broken up into a dozen separate towns, with each one carrying on its own conception of the ideal state, until they all relapsed into what an Idealist would have called barbarism.

We now know, as did some of the thinkers of that day, that the slow working laws of development had not brought the race to a point where the Idealist teaching (founded on an abstract morality, without any of the personal element of the older faiths) was real and vital enough to conquer innate selfishness. Love of humanity, except as a corollary of self-love (which means selfhood, *not* selfishness), is not true philanthropy, nor did it ever appeal to the masses. It was always an emotional luxury. No wiser command was ever spoken than "Know thyself", for then follows

knowledge of all, as we in this day are clearly learning. It is remarkable that the world should have been so slow to learn this lesson, and to realize that society could never be reformed from without; no sovereign remedy applied to one spot on the body politic could affect a permanent cure of even one social evil; and, after all, the altruism of *U*topia turned into the egoism of a *Me*topia. But as only experience teaches, all these experiments were an essential part of human development.

It is scarcely necessary to give, in as much detail, the story of other schemes tried and found wanting. The colony of Altruria was the most extensive plan ever tried, and the small divisions into which it finally resolved itself, adopted the fads of one Idealist after another which were more or less successful, according to the self-assertive power of their several originators. The intercourse with other parts of the world, in which such very different conditions prevailed, was a strong element in the disintegration of these communities. It was impossible to isolate them

completely, for rebellion against such isolation was one of the first difficulties in the original colony.

The devotion and mistaken unselfishness of the Idealists are the most admirable part of this history, and are comparable only to the sacrifices of the early Christians, though not so dramatic. Several fortunes were sacrificed in establishing "free cities", as they were called, where, though money was not abolished as in Altruria, the ownership of all the land was vested in the city, and the occupants paid rent in lieu of taxes, and no speculative interests were allowed. Every form of labor was corporate, but not co-operative, the management of every business and its traffic with other cities being in the hands of an elective committee on salaries like other workers. Profits when not used for increasing the plant were put into an insurance and pension fund, so that widows and orphans should be aided and the old age of both sexes provided for. The citizens were required to remain a year at least, but after that were free to remove

elsewhere, and in consequence of this liberty these colonists were more contented than many others.

Several of the communities split, however, on the rock of total abstinence, which the majority unwisely attempted to enforce, and one by one they all went to pieces from one cause or another.

In the meantime the world at large was struggling on in the old way, and the love of power and of wealth increased day by day, and with these conditions and their results our next lecture will deal.

LECTURE VII

LABOR TRIUMPHANT

During the fifty years that Altruria flourished, it was the star of hope to the Idealist school, for the darkness of the world's conditions seemed everywhere deepening. The show and glitter of wealth dazzled the eyes of the superficial as long as they did not feel the crushing iron hand beneath the silken glove, but the working multitude and the thinker realized that life was growing so grievous a burden for the majority, that nothing but a cataclysm could be expected. The hostile forces of wealth and labor stood opposed with immensely greater resources of organization than ever before, but, as always, with the advantage on the side of capital, so long as the majority refrained from concerted violence.

In spite of attempts at legislative control,

trusts had grown to such an enormous degree that there was literally nothing a man could do entirely independent of some great corporation. Even literature was chiefly controlled by syndicates. A workman who was not a member of a vast trade union was practically starved, for the only way to deal with amalgamated capital was by organizations large enough to command some consideration. As machinery was daily simplified and perfected by the application of electricity and other processes, the number of men required in manufactories grew smaller and smaller. At the same time invention improved some of the conditions of life for the masses, by cheapening manufactured products, and simplifying processes of cooking and cleaning. The working people claimed, and not without reason, that large proprietors in building model tenements for their operatives, and supplying their necessities at wholesale prices, so as to reduce wages to a bare living level, worked for their own interest only. Still, population increased with such rapidity that

the evils of overcrowding became daily more aggravated, and one of the greatest luxuries of the wealthy became the possession of country estates of enormous size and value, which everywhere pressed in on a swarming population. The "bonanza" farms of the West, which once numbered thousands, were concentrated into hundreds, and were jealously preserved by wealthy owners as vast estates. They were farmed, as in the old days, but by as few men as possible, usually one bachelor tenant in charge, hiring "help" as needed during the season. The palaces of the Old World were surpassed by those of the New, and the moneyed class lived in a degree of luxury never exceeded in the history of man. A "moderate fortune" was no longer known, for nothing moderate was deemed a fortune, and the millions accumulated in the hands of a few families, created a plutocracy shrewd, suave and sharp, but insolent, grasping and cruel. Opposed to it was the so-called "pantocracy", absurdly defined in the cant of the day as the "rule of pants". But the power of

the majority, not alone by force of superior numbers, but by force of needless suffering, was gathering enormous momentum, and the only wonder is that it was so long held back. Viewed superficially, human progress has been made by leaps and bounds in the shape of rapid and violent reactions from conditions which have proved disastrous or dangerous, but in fact the progress toward these reactions has been very gradual. Nature's processes both of growth and decay are slow, and the rottenness at the heart of society defied every check until it had reached a ghastly extreme.

Men have from time immemorial sold their souls for money, and when a whole nation depends for life itself on the will of a few who hold the purse, no slavery is more complete, even though it lack the outwardly brutal features of the knout or the auction block. I have shown you some notable exceptions, and but for them, one feels that the natural result of such conditions would have come much sooner.

As always, the majority had but to rise in

its strength to crush the minority, which was ruling only by a specious power. How anyone could fail to foresee this result is strange to us, but the intoxication of wealth blinded its possessors, and the climax came without warning.

In the year 2225 an enormously wealthy manufacturer living in Chicago and employing 4,200 workmen, had built for them model dwellings, which he rented, at a profit, of course. The rents were regularly deducted from their wages, but when work was slack many fell behind in their accounts, and so it came about that once in the midst of a howling storm of snow and sleet thirty families were turned out into the streets. Women with babies in their arms and little ones clinging about them stood shivering in despair, the children wailing and the men cursing with rage. The heartless officers of the law, anxious to show their zeal to the powerful company, and "as a lesson", prevented the compassionate and more fortunate neighbors of those who were turned out from giving

them shelter, by threatening them with complaints that would result in their dismissal, so that the unfortunate evicted families were compelled to seek what shelter they might at a distance.

One sick and starving mother and her four-weeks'-old infant died from exposure, and the next day's papers, spreading the story far and wide, aroused such horror and such an outburst of indignation that the following night the workmen, in the fever of their frenzy, succeeded in firing all the factories and the private palace of the multi-millionaire owner, and reducing them all to ashes. The watchmen were either willingly inactive or were outwitted, and the efforts of the firemen were made useless by the partial freezing of the water supply and the cutting of the hose. Some powerful hand grenades were also useless because they were all purposely broken at the first sign of flames.

The work was so quietly and effectually managed that not a suspected workman was to be found near the scene, and no one could

be proven guilty of the deed. The whole 4,200 men were thus thrown out of employment, and either voluntarily quitted their homes or were ejected. The country rang with the shouts of mass meetings of workmen who needed only this spark to kindle the spirit of revolution smoldering far and wide among them. The machinery of government was in the hands of capitalists, but the power of numbers was on the side of the people, and there were leaders ready to act at once and decisively.

The long pent-up wrongs and angry mutterings broke forth, and no power could stand against the onslaught of the infuriated mobs, which now openly attacked the rich all over the country. Riot was rampant, and in so many places at once as to be uncontrollable. Our modern engines of warfare are deadly, but they were not alone in the hands of the richer party, and when it came to armed conflict, where hundreds of workmen were mowed down, their places were filled as if by magic, while among the soldiery the decimated ranks

could not be so quickly made good. The capitalists, too, were almost stunned by the suddenness of the outburst, which was made more general and effective by the fact that when the Chicago outrage took place a congress of Federated Workmen was being held in that city, and the delegates from every section of the country went to their homes inflamed with zeal to crush out the "tyranny of capital". All moderate counsels were swept away by the rushing tide of bitter hate which for generations had grown among the working multitude, who saw daily the superabundance of luxury piling up in the hands of wealth, and themselves more firmly bound hand and foot to serve these masters. Now by common impulse they felt that their hour had come, and they made the most of it, with the fierce appetite for revenge born of long waiting.

Shops and factories were relentlessly burned to the ground, surrounded by determined mobs who prevented any interference from the military, by guarding every public office from which orders could be sent, and often seizing

the arms before any warning orders could be given. So many capitalists had been assassinated or burned that many of the others were panic-stricken and fled from the country. Private houses were sacked before being fired, and the fantastic effect of silk draperies and laces hung upon the shoulders of workingmen and women who sat in costly chairs dragged from the houses, whose burning ruins they watched, added to the horror of the situation. Sometimes the owners themselves were so seated with mock homage and afterward put to death. The scenes of the French Revolution were repeated on every side, but in the midst of their frenzy the men were singularly free from bloodthirstiness, except toward the few very rich, or when opposed by armed force. Over five hundred capitalists lost their lives from the unprovoked assaults of the mob, and many were wounded in defending their property, or received rough treatment in trying to escape. The governing idea of the rioters, however, was to reduce their whilom bosses to the position of dependence and

helplessness which they had themselves occupied. They secretly held many employers as hostages, and released them only when they gained possession of all their wealth. The revolution was widespread and practically over in so short a time as to surprise even the instigators of it. The force of numbers and of clever management cowed even the national authorities, and it was suspected that Howard, who was President at the time, sympathized with the revolutionists, as he had himself been a mechanic, and had risen to political power largely through his interest in the masses. Power passed into the hands of the revolutionary party, and every State was reorganized in its interest.

The confiscated fortunes and property were divided and subdivided until from one-tenth of the nation, holding nine-tenths of its wealth, it came to be distributed in the hands of about nine-tenths of the people. The method of distribution was unique. All funds, and the value of all property were reported by States, to the National Workmen's Federation, with

the census of the working population of each State. The National Council then adjusted the amount of each State, and reported it to the State Federation, which in turn settled the sums paid to each local federation. The officers of these institutions, who had been for the most part the leaders of the insurrection, managed to retain a good deal of the money, satisfying the rank and file by the purchase of pleasure grounds for them, where for a time free refreshments and amusements were provided. The millennium of the workingman appeared to him to be at hand. The business interests made over to them were put into operation under new management, and wages were generally increased. Such State governments as were not in sympathy with the "True Republic", as it was styled, were speedily abolished, and for some years remarkable peace and prosperity seemed to possess the land. The old Populist legislation which had been so disastrous years before, came forward again in slightly altered forms, and jubilant workmen proclaimed that a reign of *equality*

had begun, without hampering a man's liberty to earn more than his neighbor, if he were smart enough.

The "submerged tenth" was now made up chiefly of the dispossessed capitalists, who went to work where they could, or drifted to other countries. The workmen did not seem to appreciate the insecurity of a social structure raised by a volcano, nor that it was likely to be rent asunder by another explosion, nor to see that a change of masters was not a change of principles, and that clever handling of the small fortune gained by thousands would soon raise the new masters to the same height that the "bloodsuckers" of yesterday had reached. With lower ambitions, and not craving the use of wealth for gratifying refined tastes, the new capitalists spent money on the more sensuous pleasures of life, and thus rapidly acquired a lust for wealth for wealth's sake, that tempted them to adopt the same methods in its acquirement which they had once so vigorously denounced. The thrifty, cautious and economical proprietors gradu-

ally increased their holdings, and while laws were made prohibiting anything in the shape of combinations or trusts, they entered into compacts with one another, without openly appearing to do so, and old abuses soon existed either secretly or under new names.

The most serious danger to the State lay in the greedy ambition of the ruling party. The delirium caused by power and luxury on untrained brains lured them into all manner of excesses, and they rapidly went from bad to worse. They did not dare openly to tax the people, lest they should rise up against them, so the existing issue of paper money was secretly expanded almost without limit until, by the natural and eternal laws of finance, it fell in purchasing power to one-tenth of its face value, and the century went out on a most pitiable condition of affairs at every point. Factories lay idle, farms were neglected, crimes were rampant, and the State was rotten to the core. Workingmen on all sides demanded that the State should support them. The promises of the dema-

gogues had been many, but their fulfillment was nowhere to be seen, and their dupes, the workingmen, had at last really learned what is was to wear a "silver crown of thorns and to bear a cross of gold". It was at this time that the merest accident practically changed the political and social situation in the entire world, and to that our next lecture will be devoted.

LECTURE VIII

DRASTIC DECIMATION

We cannot fail to observe how frequently the unexpected comes to the front as the solution of great problems, and how often it is in itself a most natural and simple event. In the midst of degradation and misery so universal that the most sanguine believers in human nature lost hope, one problem pressed for solution so powerfully that to every thinking mind it overshadowed all others. This was the question of over-population, which had been discussed abstractly for centuries, but had now ceased to be an abstraction, and had become an appalling menace.

Important history has often been made by incidents of apparent insignificance, so that the cackling goose of Rome, and the impatient cow of Chicago have come to be household examples of "how great a matter a little

fire kindleth". So it happened that a discovery which had been sought for merely as a scientific fact brought about immediately the most radical and far-reaching results that had ever affected the populations of the earth.

It is palpable that man is placed by nature merely in the category of animals, at the top to be sure, but nevertheless in regard to propagation absolutely in the same category and governed by the same general laws. From the elephant to the mosquito nature has provided against extinction; through superior force in the larger animals, and with the smaller by an enormous surplus to guard against extinction through natural ravages. The proportional increase of this surplus varies almost in direct ratio to the size and strength of the animal, and its consequent liability to decimation and destruction. Man is no exception to the law, and in a state of nature would be exposed to attack by wild beasts, pestilence, constant and interminable wars, and a thousand and one other destructive forces.

But under civilization wild beasts were practically extinct, and science went on steadily reducing the number of these checks and inroads without materially lessening the natural tendency to surplus production. On the contrary, hygienic and sanitary appliances, both public and private, made giant strides in curtailing the ravages of pestilence and improving health, until almost any weakling born into the world was saved for a more or less miserable life. Workmen, too, were protected from dangerous conditions of labor by humanitarian laws, and from excessive physical effort in any direction by electric inventions of all kinds. On the other side of the ledger, more from accident than design, civilization, with its strict matrimonial laws, tended to curtail to a certain extent this surplus. All in all, however, the increase of population in the world, although far less than the provisions of nature calculated, was still far beyond what it would have been in a state of nature with the natural decimating influences at work. From this it appeared that

there could be no salvation from the miseries of this enormous over-population, except by a decrease on the other side of the equation.

It has been for generations an established fact that the poor increased enormously in numbers, while the rich decreased, and one argument of the revolutionists had been that, with a distribution of wealth, greater average opulence would be created, and in that way the number of people in the world would not outstrip the means of subsistence. It was of course a fallacious argument on the face of it, yet nothing but experience would convince the majority of that fact. The fight for existence became fierce and bitter. The worst scenes of the worst reigns in the times of any revolution were re-enacted. Men women and children fought in the streets for food.

Murder, especially of old people and children, became so frequent that the machinery of the law was powerless to stop it. The prisons were overcrowded, and many crimes were committed for the purpose of forcing

the authorities to provide food and shelter for the unfortunates who were starving and homeless. Bread riots took place incessantly. Scientists labored over experimental foods, to furnish some form of concentrated nourishment which should sustain life at a minimum cost. Synthetic chemistry arrived to take the place of agriculture, and by providing all the elements of wheat and corn, beef and mutton, in chemical combinations, sought to do away with grain and stock-farms and release the land to build upon. Their efforts, however, were not very successful, and the people could not be persuaded to adopt the results. Suddenly relief came from a remote part of the world, and fortuitously brought about results which had not been obtained by revolts, legislation or philanthropy. It occurred in this way. The continent of Africa had by this time became materially civilized by the incursion of Europeans who thronged there from love of adventure and hope of gain. This led to a strange intermixture of Europeans and Africans, which

was somewhat similar to the conditions which obtained in the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In many ways it was a reversal of those conditions, especially in that the superior civilization was grafted on to the inferior, and the science of Europe jostled against the primitive ignorance of the natives. In a mountainous and still rather isolated territory of Central Africa, lived a race of singularly strong and handsome people. They had resisted, more than any others of their countrymen, the amalgamation that had taken place among natives and foreigners, and retained, too, a warlike spirit, aggressive as well as defensive.

Their country was a beautiful one, and they ranged over their mountains with the freedom and vigor of the few wild animals that still lingered in those uncultivated strongholds of nature. At the same time they were not without intelligence, and appreciation of the weapons and benefits that science could add to their natural resources and strength as a nation. Among their problems was the

correction of a tendency in their tribe toward a gradual diminution of numbers, especially of the females. After long investigation a young physician from London, living there, discovered the law which governs the origin of sex. Many times before, this discovery had been announced, but the claim had proved false. This law was soon published, and became immediately a matter of widespread interest, and universally known. Strangely enough the results were, unconsciously to the individual actors, of vast importance to the world. It is well known that the Arab at the birth of a son, always exclaimed: "Praise be to Allah", and on hearing the news that a daughter had been born to him, broke out with invectives and an "arabesque" of curses. They were perhaps foremost among all the races in the intensity of their feeling in that regard, but it is more or less the attitude of the world at large. Boys provide for themselves at an earlier age, and girls are more of a care. The result of the publication of this discovery, and of this natural human in-

stinct, or outgrowth of selfishness, was that during the next half century the proportion of male children to female children born was about twenty to one, and the further result during the next half century was that the population of the world was reduced, as you may know, from twenty-five hundred million to three hundred million, and the miseries which had been known in the centuries from 1950 to 2200 were disappearing like dew before the morning's sun.

Previous to this period, for nearly two generations, the world's history is as dark a picture as can be imagined. Anarchy reigned supreme in some countries, where the overcrowding had become so extreme that not a foot of land was untenanted, and hundreds and thousands were forcibly deported to pestilential colonies in Africa and South America. In the United States the law-abiding citizens, horrified by mob rule, exerted every means to get control, and after fierce conflict at the polls, succeeded in wrestling from anarchy the machinery of government, but every State

was so exhausted in resources that utter apathy followed. Population had spread far to the North, and on to the Pacific Islands, and all that saved many communities from utter ruin was the restless spirit of emigration which came to possess the people. At the first report of abundant harvests anywhere there was an immediate movement to that spot, which was overrun as by a swarm of locusts and soon left bare.

Such conditions had virtually reduced man to the primitive conditions of barbarism, with all society warring against itself, when suddenly the effects of the diminishing population began to appear. The limit of food production had previously been reached, but now with the reduction of population better conditions prevailed, the desperation of the rivalry of existence disappeared by degrees, peace and plenty returned, and the pendulum swung slowly back and far over to the other extreme.

Of course the indolent, thriftless and vicious were poor and miserable, but none became

so except through a strong bent in that direction, for there was absolutely no necessity for any individual to be other than prosperous and comfortable.

In the earlier centuries there was an enormous mass to whom want and poverty seemed almost a necessity. They were crowded out and down by the immense pressure of numbers, and, being the weakest, went to the wall, but with the population only one to ten per acre of what it had been, every human being could easily find a compensation for effort. It has been nearly two centuries since what is now known as "the great decimation" took place, and as you know one of the chief bureaus of our present government is the statistical one, which finds no difficulty through suggestion and exhortation in keeping the balance of population and available land so completely in harmony, as to avoid all the terrible disasters which sprang up during the previous few centuries. A few accumulations of capital in one man's hands have recently been found in effect to be a helpful rather

than a baleful condition, as they permitted enterprises which were of necessity large, but the homely phrase that it was only "three generations from shirtsleeve to shirtsleeve", was still generally the rule. Occasionally it extended to four generations, and in rare cases to five, but scarcely ten cases are on record where it reached six. As to corporations, it was found that, after all, immense amounts of money were a necessity for large undertakings, and that in the end they brought about no special injury to the State when reasonably administered, and the scarcity of labor made oppression impossible. A careful study of all the experiences of the Idealists and the Altruists prove that their theories were specious, weak and untenable, although alluring and picturesque.

Nature has framed the law of selfishness as the one great fundamental necessity, and the only base on which the animal creation and humanity could exist, namely, that every specimen should care *primarily* for himself,

and should primarily devote his entire energy to his own self-protection and continuance.

Eventually this was acknowledged to be the only possible ground on which society could exist. Every attempt at substituting the law of altruism, as such, had been a dismal failure. Of course the family was merely an amplification of the selfish idea and theory, and in the past two centuries the only effective altruism has been that which devoted itself entirely to restricting the extreme expansion of selfishness, and sought to teach the law that in itself selfishness enclosed a certain modicum of altruism which was sufficient to prevent radical excesses, inside of which the world must be permitted to continue, on the lines which nature has indicated through its constitution of human nature.

LECTURE IX.

INTERNATIONAL COURT

The drastic decimation, to which reference was made in my last lecture, brought about many results, but chief among them was the fact that the paucity of men in the community prevented the existence of any large standing army. There were barely enough soldiers to fill the fortresses, so that beyond this any *army* was an impossibility. Hence the nations were mightily afraid of each other, even though each one knew that his neighbor had been reduced in numerical fighting forces quite as much as he had. Nevertheless great uneasiness prevailed, and as an outcome of it the peace party, which had long existed, came to the front and, aided by circumstances, brought about what had been many times proposed, but never brought within range of possibility, namely, the disarmament of the

nations. This step also as a natural consequence caused the creation and adoption of an institution, which was not only the outgrowth of these events, but toward which public sentiment had drifted for many centuries. By long experience it had been proved that the Court of Justice, although slow in its movements, offered, nevertheless, the most satisfactory method of settling disputes between individuals. The barbaric practice of going about fully armed in order to protect one's self against the attack of his next-door neighbor had disappeared from the face of the earth, and except in rare cases any man's life was safe day and night. By very slow degrees it came to be confessed that what seemed to be good for the individual was equally so for the nation, and it was admitted that the argument was even stronger in regard to nations, because with the individual there was *no* constant and recurring expense to arm himself, whereas with the nation there *was* a constant and an increasing expenditure incurred in maintaining an army and navy.

There were a vast number of men kept living at an enormously high expense, when all the items were taken into account, and levying this expense from the working non-military members of the community.

At this date there were no crowned heads in Europe, and the nobility had practically ceased with them, except a few remaining empty titles. The abolition of an aristocracy and court nobility had made it possible for the peace party to carry out their plan of establishing an International Court, since the great stumbling block in their way hitherto had been the necessity of an army, not alone from motives of defense, but also to give occupation to the titled nobility. The old stigma of trade had continued in their eyes, and for a nobleman's son the army was the only occupation worthy of his blood. With the removal of this great bar, with common sense and justice on their side, and with the vital necessity for some such action, the peace party finally established the "International Court". This was its title, but in reality it was a legislative

body, or, more properly speaking, a congress endowed with absolute and final power, the Supreme Court of all nations, able to enforce its decisions by strength of arms. The plan of its organization was as follows: Every country of Europe, and the United States, was represented in the so-called Northern Congress, and the entire continent of South America was represented by the Southern Congress. China and Africa were governed entirely by Europe and so represented. There was one representative for every five million inhabitants, and they met regularly on the first of September and the first of March, and held sessions as long as was necessary to settle all disputed points which had arisen since the previous session. The congress was regularly organized, with every representative having a vote, except that no country had any voting power on questions in which that country was involved, but had the right of being heard in argument.

By international agreement the army and navy of every country was exactly in propor-

tion to its inhabitants, and was only sufficient to cope with internal dissension, and to act as a national police.

According to the original terms of the agreement all members of the confederation were bound to join together, and enforce the laws of the court against any individual nation which might rebel against its decision. In this way, although some individuals were very much stronger than any other, yet the aggregation of the others made them four times as strong as the strongest single one in the body. Of course it was necessary to amplify the code of international law, to render new decisions for new cases, and as time went on to codify the laws already made. Whenever a case came up between nations of the different confederations which could not be settled by arbitration (which course had become very frequent and popular), a special conference was held by a body formed by taking ten from each congress, and having one delegate only from any given State, and none from the two States between whom the trou-

ble existed. This state of affairs has existed practically since the "drastic decimation", a period, as you know, of over 200 years, and it now seems unlikely that the world will ever again have recourse to international war, just as unlikely as that civilized communities can even revert to the primitive plan of personal self-defense as a generally adopted custom. One great result of the court has been the abolition of the enormous expense occasioned by large standing armies and by navies, with which the nations were burdened from the nineteenth to the twenty-third centuries. Taxes became reduced to a very low limit, and even then the proportion of money which was formerly devoted to warlike purposes, more than sufficed to pay the expenses of the International Court, and to keep all the highways and thoroughfares of the various nations in perfect order. We are, however, forced to confess that even this great revolution has not by any means settled the deep and vital questions of sociology which so perplexed earlier ages. There seems to be for these no remedy.

Suffering, want, physical ailments, inequalities of rank and station, of intelligence, and of worldly goods must exist. Through actual legislation and penalty, or the fear of it, they can be kept within certain bounds, and prevented from running into the wild and abnormally radical exaggerations, which have from time to time shocked public sentiment, and resulted in those violent upheavals which temporarily brought society back nearer to the level of equality. I cannot more fitly end this course of lectures than by reading to you the letter of a somewhat hopeless idealist of recent date, which runs as follows: "The one salient conclusion to which the drift of all idealistic polemics and observation has led during the last two centuries, is that all the teachings of altruism are working in a direction contrary to that of nature. Nature's laws are of a necessity excessively simple, wide-reaching and fundamental. *It was impossible for the great law of life to be any other than that of selfishness.* The entire population of the world would promptly be destroyed

were it not for the deep desire and effort on the part of every individual to take care of himself in the way of protection and improvement, first, foremost, and last. Imagine for one instant a world where everyone depended on someone else to look out for him. On similar lines the average standard of the community was to be elevated through the simple principle of the domination of the strongest, and honestly looked at, dispassionately, and free from sentiment, we must admit that the law of nature by which the sick are left to themselves, and the weak perish and die, while cruel to the individual, is vastly useful and important to the best growth of the entire body. Altruism has steadily sought to deny this principle in theory, and to assert and put in practice, as far as possible, laws which have protected the weak, and propagated far and wide poor, miserable, inefficient, useless human stock, on the false assumption that because each specimen was human, it was therefore of as much value as every other one, and that extra precautions should for that

reason be taken to protect it. As a result we are bound to confess that the average of physical health and strength is far greater in savage nations than in those civilized ones where the laws of hygiene and of the curative and saving appliances of science are dominant, and I might almost say rampant. What, therefore, must we conclude? Is altruism in its manifold ramifications an error, and selfishness the law which we must seek to follow? Can we modify and alter selfishness only to the extent of preventing it from running to excess and abuse, or can we harmonize and bring into one power these two forces which apparently draw in opposite directions? We are inclined to believe, with what light we have at present, that altruism has been carried to an excess which has militated against the law of nature, and has so far done harm, and our final verdict to-day is that we must modify this principle and swing it around as far as possible into the line of nature's laws. But even here we are again brought face to face with the question whether we eventually de-

sire the good of the individual or the good of the mass. It is certainly for the good of the mass that the weak should perish, and it is not always certain that it is for the highest good of the individual that he should survive. There has long been a theory that the existence of wretchedness and sorrow in the world was a necessity for the inspiration of such qualities as pity, mercy, generosity, and philanthropy, but this argument lacks strength. The finer qualities can be exercised just as well without the existence of such desperate causes for it. While we, therefore, cannot accept fully the ideas of the pessimist, and the theory of selfishness as the best *law*, we must confess that the growth of altruistic ideas has not apparently improved the general status of the community to any material extent.

We must bear in mind that while the most agonizing wails of humanity have been for bread and shelter, in a word, for existence, the perennial cry has been for "more", and the steady grumble for something better.

We recognize therein the expression of an innate desire and yearning for improvement, but we may justly turn around and say, "This is a demand without limitations". If they have bread and a cottage, they want cake and a house, and thereafter a town and a country house, and then a yacht, and so on. What right has any man to demand that life shall give more than proper shelter, wholesome food, and protection from harm. All the rest is the demand of the intellect, and not of nature, the craving of a conventionalized brain, which has had certain standards set up for it, and which has fostered the ideas of ambition and imitation. To-day in civilized communities fully nineteen-twentieths of all expenditure is for frills, all of them unnecessary, most of them not even useful, and many of them bad. Their unique merit is that they give work to many, but if it were not for the absorption of money into the hands of those who buy the non-necessaries, there would be more of the necessaries for equal distribution, and less of an everlasting struggle to reach the top,

because the top would not be so high, and so unattainable. We may, however, just as well reconcile ourselves to the idea that the fig-leaf mantles which Adam and Eve made were the keynotes of human life. Frills *have been* the order of the day ever since then, and will be to the crack of doom. The only reason that Eve did not turn up her nose at some neighbor was because there was no neighbor to sneer at, and the only reason that Adam did not quarrel with his mother-in-law is equally patent. As soon as there *were* two men to quarrel they began, and their successors have bravely kept it up ever since. Conditions which ruled six thousand years ago, rule today, and influences and forces which existed then, exist now. We feel ourselves free from them for the simple reason that they appear under a new guise.

The patriarchal power awarded in scriptural days to the head of the house through respect is now given simply because the head of the house holds the purse, and consequently the power. The giant physique which caused one

red Indian to be the head of his tribe rather than another is now represented by the bank account of the millionaire; and the frail, infirm, weak captive of the savage nation is today represented by the low-born and the pauper. If we compare closely and carefully the conditions of any age with another, we find the relative classes almost identical, relative influences very similar, and human nature, after all is said and done, that which has changed the least, and which in its inherent qualities has defied change more stoutly, persistently and successfully than anything else. Islands have dropped out of sight, coast lines have changed, rivers have been diverted from their course, wooded mountains have become nude, and sterile tracts have become fertile, but human nature has remained practically unchanged in its essentials since the days of Adam and Eve. Costumes and manners, and theories and customs, and habits and rules, and laws and conventions and creeds, have changed—but human nature *has not.* It started out with the great fundamental law of

life, the law of selfishness, and it will end with it. There may be movements to curtail or modify it, but over them and through them will ever rule supreme that motive, and the barriers to it will be like straws before the resistless force of a deep and mighty river sweeping oceanward. We may look forward, and with keenest eye or glass discover naught else, and looking backward we can read no other lesson. We decry it, and denounce it, and deplore it, but we must never ignore it, for looking forward or backward we see S E L F as the pillar of flame which will always guide man through the wilderness of life until there is no man left to live.

THE END

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